

MAR 22 1912

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

The Name of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST is Registered in the Patent Office at Washington as

MARK of the Co-Operative Printing Company

Ninth Year. No. 12

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, MAR 22 1912

3c Per Copy, \$1.00 Per Year

Socialism, Labor Unions and The Church

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(The following article is remarkable in its clear-cut discussion of two vital phases of the subject and its calm conclusions favorable to Socialism in spite of the follies of its friends and foes. All comrades should be familiar with the unwise things as well as the true things said by prominent Socialists, so that they may ground their own feet firmly in the truth in spite of leaders partly wise and partly otherwise, and so that they may be able to answer the sneers of Anti-Socialists who quote the unwisdom of some of our "leaders." We urge also a careful reading of the Editorial Comment following this article.)

The aim of this paper is to learn to what extent labor unions are affected by Socialism, and to define the attitude of Socialism towards the Church. We are particularly interested in the American brand of Socialism, and in learning just what sort of Socialism is preached in this country, and to what extent it has affected the labor unions. A few days ago in Los Angeles the noted London preacher, Dr. R. J. Campbell, said that the Socialism on the Continent of Europe, and to some extent the labor union movement there, are opposed to ecclesiasticism, and, because they have not learned to distinguish, opposed also to Christianity. In England, he said that there are two wings to the social movement among the workingmen. One of these is expressed politically in the Social-Democrat party, led by Robert Blatchford, editor of *The Clarion*; and the other is expressed politically in the Labor party led by MacDonald and Hardie. The Social Democratic Party is intensely opposed to the Church, but this radical party has elected only one man to Parliament, and he stayed only one term. The Labor Party has 80 members in Parliament, and 26 of them are Socialists. But Dr. Campbell says that not one of the 80 is an atheist or opposed to the Church. What are the conditions in this country?

Labor Unions Are Incubators

Socialism is coming to be one of the biggest world movements of our day. Karl Marx, the lauded founder of the Socialist movement, made it a laboring men's movement, though he himself was a journalist and a university man. When we ask to what extent labor unions are affected by Socialism, we must remember that Marx in his day "practically dictated the policies of the working people of Europe." (1) He made a distinction between labor unions and Socialism—labor unions were to be the incubators of Socialism. That is the present day attitude of Socialist leaders in the United States. Marx was the founder and leader of the "International Workingmen's Association." His slogan was: "Workingmen of the World, Unite." We hear this motto repeated everywhere today, so there can be no doubt but that the aim of Socialism is to capture the entire working class. Socialist workers are to be found in every labor union, and many unions are openly Socialistic, notably the Western Federation of Miners.

However, American labor unions, at least until quite recently, have looked with some disfavor on Socialism as not being adapted to American conditions. Repeatedly Socialist resolutions have been voted down almost unanimously in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. But I think it is evident to the careful investigator that labor

unions are each year becoming more Socialistic. As an example of how unions are becoming Socialistic, take Los Angeles, usually considered a conservative city. In 1906 the Socialist vote was 868; in November, 1911, there were 13,000 members of the Socialist party locals in the city, and the Socialist vote at the city primary election the same month was 20,000, and at the municipal election, December 5, 1911, Job Harriman, the Socialist candidate for mayor, received 51,000 votes. At the last named election women voted, and, of course, many dissatisfied people who were not Socialists voted the Socialist ticket. But the significant thing was that the entire Socialist ticket was endorsed by the labor unions of the city, 105 in number, through their Central Labor Council. And more significant still, not a single labor union man raised his voice against it, but all worked hard for the election of the Socialist ticket. At the Labor Day parade, hundreds of banners were carried reading: "United we stand; united we vote." But the most significant thing of all connected with this campaign, was the fact that the conservative American Federation of Labor, then in session at Atlanta, heartily endorsed the Socialist campaign in Los Angeles. There can be no doubt that labor unions are becoming more Socialistic.

The Reason

It ought to be stated, however, that it is the economic program of Socialism that is attracting American workingmen, and not its backlying philosophy of life. The workingmen of America are unwilling to accept the full import of materialism and atheism that have always been connected with Continental Socialism. The Socialism of America is said to be distinctly Marxian, and yet the Christian Socialism of England has been as leaven in America. A noted professor of political economy once said: "Marxian Socialism is the only form of Socialism in the United States that is worthy of serious mention." Another says: "It is noteworthy that American Socialism is probably more Marxian than the Socialism of the other great countries of the world." (2)

Christian Socialist Fellowship

The Christian Socialist Fellowship of this country, desires it to be clearly understood that it has no connection with the "so-called Christian Socialism" of Europe. They say in their propaganda literature: "The Fellowship does not aim to create a new political party, but endorses and supports the platform and principles of the Socialist party. Most of the members of the Fellowship are members also of the Party, and the influence of the Fellowship is unreservedly given to the party. The Fellowship believes in, and advocates Socialism without any qualifying adjective whatever. It does not offer any special form of Socialism distinctly Christian. The Socialism it preaches differs in no wise from that of the International Socialist movement."

Eugene V. Debs says: "The capitalist is opposed to Socialism, and the editor and politician and preacher (who), are but the voice of the capitalist. There are some exceptions but not enough to affect the rule. Socialism

is first of all a political movement of the working class." (3)

Socialism and the Church

Since Marxian Socialism has affected such a large part of the laboring classes, and especially is being taken up by so many labor unions, it is important that the attitude of Socialism toward the Church should be clearly known. Preachers have dealt with the question negatively long enough. Dr. Stelzle says: "Socialism must be reckoned with by the Church.—Whatever one may think of the economic value of Socialism or the probability of its success as a political party, this fact remains—Socialism has become to thousands of workingmen a substitute for the Church. Already in several of our American cities Socialist "Sunday Schools" and "preaching services" are being held.—They have adopted the vocabulary of the Church. They are insisting that Jesus Christ was a Socialist, and that they more nearly represent the teachings of Jesus Christ than does Christianity and the Church." (4)

Many will say that Socialism, being an economic and political movement, has nothing to do with religion or the church. But is this true? It is true that the last Socialist national convention held in Chicago, beginning Sunday, May 10, 1908, said in its platform: "The Socialist party is primarily an economic organization. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief." And yet, the warmest debate of the whole convention was on the question of religion. This plank was proposed by Morris Hillquit, himself an avowed agnostic, as a substitute for a plank which was found to be "unpalatable." (5)

Anti-Religion Socialists

Mr. Arthur Morrow Lewis, in speaking on the question, said: "I am among those who sincerely hoped that the question of religion would not be raised at this convention. I am willing to concede that we should let sleeping dogs lie. I know that the Socialist position in philosophy on the question of religion does not make a good campaign subject. It is not useful propaganda in a political campaign, and therefore I am willing we should be silent about it. But if we speak, I propose that we go before this country with the truth and not with a lie. I believe in Socialist scholarship, and I voted to have scholars on this platform committee, men who understand the Socialist philosophy. And we have at least half a dozen men on the platform committee who know that religion is a sociological question, an anthropological question, a question of chronology, of economics, of theosophy. There are few forms of modern thought that do not directly affect the question of religion, and when you say that it is merely a question of the private conscience, you fly in the face of the science and learning of your day. I do not propose to state in this platform the truth about religion from the standpoint of the Socialist philosophy, as it is stated in almost every book of standard Socialist literature. But if we do not do that, let us at least have the good grace to be silent about it and not make hypocrites of ourselves." (6)

Mr. Lewis certainly believed that Socialism had something to do with religion, even if it was to do away with it. From this it is also plain that the plank in the Socialist platform is not a true statement of the Socialist philosophy of religion. Morris Hillquit, the author

1. Karl Marx, *His Life and Work*, by John Spargo.
2. *International Encyclopedia*, Art. "Socialism."
3. *Unionism and Socialism*, pp. 41, 42.
4. *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. 30, p. 456.
5. Vice report in "Chicago Daily Socialist", May 16, 1908.
6. *Ibid.*

of the resolution which was adopted, said: "When Comrade Lewis and ninety-nine per cent of us take the position of the agnostic, that does not make Socialism agnostic. We should not go out in our propaganda among the people who are still groping in obscurity and tell them that they must first become materialists before they can become members of the Socialist party. After we have disposed of the things that affect their material welfare it will be time to approach them with the full consequences of the Socialist philosophy. Therefore I would retain the plank in our platform." (7)

Thus we see that the very author of the religious plank of the Socialist platform looks upon it merely as a subterfuge in order to catch votes. It is the old trick of the politician—make the platform to catch votes.

To show the attitude of Marxian Socialism toward the church, it is only necessary to quote from their standard writers. Ex-President Roosevelt, in an article in the Outlook of March 20, 1909, said, speaking of the immoralities and absurdity of the doctrines of Socialism: "The doctrinaire Socialist, the extremists, the men who represent the doctrine in its most advanced form, are, and must necessarily be, not only convinced opponents of private property, but also bitterly hostile to religion and morality. It is not only indifferent, but at bottom hostile to the intellectual, the religious, the domestic, and the moral life." Socialists were loud in their denunciations of Roosevelt for his bold attack on the underlying philosophy of Socialism. Yet the Christian Socialist of Chicago, which advocates the same brand of Socialism as the Appeal to Reason and the Volkszeitung, said editorially, April 1, 1909: "But the charge that prominent Socialist writers have advocated free-love is true. And there is reason to believe that the charge that men and women prominent in the Socialist movement practice free-love (not merely get divorces), is also true. Of course, there are Republicans and Democrats who advocate anti-religion and free-love and who practice moral obliquity in this regard, but the Republican and Democratic parties do not endorse such writings, nor are they advertised in Republican and Democratic papers as propaganda books of their faith. Whereas, nearly every prominent Socialist paper in America has advertised such infamous free-love books as 'The Thoughts of a Fool,' presenting the statements of America's leading Socialist publisher, Chas. H. Kerr, to the effect that this book gives the best forecast of conditions that will prevail under Socialism—a baser slander than Roosevelt could possibly utter. And while Bebel's 'Women Under Socialism' is frequently advertised as the greatest book on the subject yet produced, we have not observed a single Socialist editor attempting to rebuke Bebel's bold teaching of sexual promiscuity under Socialism."

Not only does Bebel teach sexual promiscuity as a part of Socialist philosophy, but also views religion as an illusion that must be dispelled. He says: "Without any forcible attack or expression of opinions, of whatever nature they may be, the religious organizations will gradually disappear and the churches with them. Religion is the transcendental reflection of the social conditions of every age. In the measure in which human development progresses and society is transformed, religion is transformed likewise."

"Religion," says Marx, "is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness; it springs from a state of society that requires an illusion, but disappears when the recognition of true happiness and the possibility of its realization penetrates the masses." (8)

E. Belfort Bax says: "In what sense Socialism is not religious will now be clear. It utterly despises the other world, with all its stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion. In what sense it is not irreligious will be also, I think, tolerably clear; it brings back religion from heaven to earth. It is in the hope and struggle for the higher social life that the Socialist finds his ideal, his religion." It is only natural that the Socialist should resent the continual reference of ideal perfection to a semi-mythical Syrian of the first century, when he sees higher types even in some men walking this upper earth." (9)

Le Rossignol says: "In these days, when we have psychology without a soul, let it not be thought strange that we have a religion without a god. Like most religions, Socialism has its prophet and its book. The prophet is Karl Marx, the book is 'Capital.' Like all religions it has also its creed, which the orthodox hold with the utmost dogmatism and intolerance." (10)

Yves Guyot, whose book is intensely bitter against religion, says: "Science analyzes God like any other natural phenomena. God is simply a psychological phenomena. Instead of God having created man, it is man who has created God. Religion is insanity." (11)

De Laveleye says: "By a complete misapplication of its ideas, the religion of Christ, transformed into a temporal and sacerdotal institution, has been called in as the ally of caste, despotism and the ancient regime, to sanction all social inequalities." (12)

Says Dr. Geo. D. Herron: "The collective attitude of the church toward God and his world is precisely the attitude of the Pharisees and Sadducees that wrought the destruction of the Jewish church and nation." (13)

Kaufmann says, quoting from an anonymous pamphlet: "I cannot agree with you in the view you take that Christianity and Socialism are the same thing. Christianity and Socialism are opposed to each other as fire and water." (14)

The above quotations from the leading Socialists on the attitude of Socialism toward the church might be duplicated from the writings of Kautsky, Engels, Leibknecht, Hyndmen, Blatchford and practically all the standard Socialist writers. The same tendency is noted in the investigations made by independent and unbiased scholars, such as political economists and sociologists.

C. Bertrand Thompson says: "The truth is that Christianity and Socialism are diametrically opposite in method, aims and spirit; that the Christian minister not only cannot support it consistently but cannot even be in sympathy with it, and must oppose its extension for the same reason that he opposes the spread of materialism, or anything else which is entirely incompatible with the fundamental theses of his religion." (15)

R. J. Campbell says: "The churches are one thing, the Socialist movement is another; despite individual instances of clerical Socialism, official Christianity is not only quite distinct from Socialism; the two are antagonistic." (16)

Percy Stickney Grant writes: "Socialism inherited atheism from Marx and La Salle. These pioneers did not derive it from their economic position, but from Feuerbach and his Hegelianism. Their followers, however, accepted their philosophical as well as their economic views. In short, Socialism considers religion a rubbish heap of arbitrary and gross superstitions used as a prop to social injustice." (17)

Rauschenbusch declares: "'Science,' as popularized in Socialist literature and propaganda, was atheistic materialism. The German Social Democracy professes to be indifferent to religion and declares it a private affair, but actually it is a force hostile to religion." (18)

Robert Flint, who treats the subject of Socialism and religion in a critical and exhaustive manner, says: "Socialism is antagonistic to Christianity in so far as it rests on, or allies itself with, Atheism or Materialism. It does so to a very large extent. The only formidably powerful species of Socialism is that which claims to be scientific on the assumption that modern science has proved the truth of the materialistic view of the universe and of history, and shown Christian and all other religious conceptions and beliefs to be delusions. Secondly, Socialism is antagonistic to Christianity, inasmuch as it assumes that man's chief end is merely a happy social life on earth. Thirdly, Socialism comes into conflict with Christianity inasmuch as it attaches more importance to the condition of men than to their character, whereas Christianity lays the chief stress on character." (19)

Benjamin Kidd tells us: "It should be remarked that the relationship between true Socialism and rationalism, casually noticed by many observers, is not accidental as it is often

stated to be; it has its foundation deep seated in the very nature of things." (20)

Stelzle, who knows the American working-man as well as any other man, says: "And yet, in method, Christianity and Socialism are radically different. Christianity works from within outward. Socialism works from without inward. Christianity believes in character first, knowing that good environment will follow. Socialism believes in environment first, hoping that good character will result." (21)

The Catholic Church

The strongest opposition that the church has offered to Socialism has been by the Catholic church. In his famous Labor Encyclical, Pope Leo XIII severely arraigns Socialism. To quote: "To remedy these evils the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the state or by municipal bodies. The Socialists, therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life. What is of still greater importance, however, is that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property of his own." (22)

Cardinal Gibbons has said, regarding the attitude of the Catholic church towards labor: "In her view, labor has rights as well as dignity, and included in these rights is that of organization. Socialism is abhorrent to her and is condemned." (23)

A prominent Catholic paper recently said: "The open and avowed principles of Socialism, as advocated by its leaders, are in direct conflict with the principles that underlie not only our sacred faith as Catholics, but also Christianity, and even the very existence of God." (24)

A Protestant writer says: "Many noble men among the priests agree with the economic policy of the Socialists, as do many of the Christian Socialists among the Protestants, but religiously and morally the Catholics hold the Socialist influence in abhorrence. It is believed to subvert all organized worship and to undermine the monogamic family. The immediate fear of the church is that Socialists are turning the workingmen into enemies to all religious authority." (25)

A Better Understanding

The views that have been presented certainly do not indicate that there is much harmony between the church and Socialism. Indeed, it has often been stated that, in the very nature of the case, harmony is not possible nor desirable. However, a day of better understanding is dawning. Socialism is getting rid of some of the atheism and materialism of its earlier exponents; the church is losing much of her prejudice, and is coming to see much of real value in the economic program of Socialism. What is necessary and most desirable is that there should be open-minded study on both sides. The very fact that there are "Christian Socialists" and Socialist "Sunday Schools" would seem to indicate that there is not an absolute gulf between Socialism and the church.

In discussing the duty of the church to Socialists, Dr. C. R. Henderson says: "Manifestly it is our duty, first of all, to try to understand

7. Ibid.
8. Women and Socialism, pp. 437, 438.
9. The Religion of Socialism, pp. 52 and 96.
10. Orthodox Socialism, p. 5.
11. Etudes sur les doctrines sociales der christianisme, 3rd. Ed., pp. 12 and 20.
12. L'avenir religieux des peuples civilises, p. 25.
13. The Christian Society, p. 62.
14. Kaufmann, Christian Socialism, p. 160.
15. The Churches and the Wage-Earners, pp. 125 and 126.
16. Christianity and the Social Order, p. 19.
17. Socialism and Christianity, pp. 4, 6, 7, passim.
18. Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 321.
19. Socialism, pp. 460, 461, 463, passim.
20. Social Evolution, p. 241.
21. The Workingman and Social Problems, p. 79.
22. Enc. Letter, "The Conditions of Labor," pp. 3, 4.
23. Quoted in "The Outlook," Nov. 4, 1911.
24. Catholic Tidings, Los Angeles, Nov. 10, 1911.
25. John G. Brooks, The Social Unrest, p. 322.

them and their teachings, to treat them fairly in word and deed, to correct their errors by offering a larger truth and better way, if possible. So far as their political and economic platform is concerned, the church has no more reason to attack or defend it than in case of the propositions of any other political party." (26)

Workingmen are coming to take a similar attitude toward the church. They are coming to see that at heart the church is right, even if she has strayed from the historical Christ. Stelzle remarks: "The claims of the church of Christ upon the workingman is a strong one. He tried to change men rather than methods. His teachings were so broad in their application that men of all shades of social or political belief have claimed him as their champion . . . they all agree that the Christianity taught by Christ would meet the needs of men, which proves that Christianity is a larger thing than any 'ism.'" (27)

It is a well known fact that men in labor meetings have often cheered the name of Jesus Christ, and hissed the church, almost in the same breath. This attitude toward the church is changing—as the church has begun to do her social mission. And what a program and problem is facing the church! J. Stitt Wilson, Socialist mayor of Berkeley, Cal., once said before a body of preachers (and he himself was once a preacher): "Never has there been a movement so fraught with possibilities of freedom and happiness and justice and brotherhood as the present labor movement. I do not hesitate to declare that no crisis in human history ever held so much in the balance for the kingdom of God and the redemption of the world as the crisis through which we are passing. No problem has ever so forced the mind and heart of the race to the very roots of right relations between man and man as this labor problem." (28)

Washington Gladden, seeing the great crisis just before the church, makes this prophecy: "The coming reformation will be signalized by a great change in the attitude of the church toward the toiling classes. It will recognize the fact that its welfare is bound up with them; that the barriers which separate them must be broken down, at whatever cost; that it must make them believe that the church of Jesus Christ is their church; that it needs them quite as much as they need it; that it is a monstrous thing even to conceive that a church of Jesus Christ could exist as a class institution, with the largest social class in the community outside of it." (29)

Dr. Simon N. Patton makes a similar prophecy: "If laborers remain outside the church, if immigrants are not assimilated into our national life—a slow but certain death awaits the church, no matter what may be its success in other fields. No headway is possible unless there come modifications of attitude and doctrine that will make the church a force among races and classes it at present fails to reach." (30)

The Church Improving

And the church is coming forward nobly to her task. The departments of labor of various denominations, and the commission of social service of the Federal Council of Churches, are doing much to study and understand the problems of the toilers, and to unite the church and labor. A better day is dawning. What Shailer Matthews has suggested has come to pass. He said: "Steps should be taken to bring organized labor and unorganized labor into closer fellowship with Protestant churches. All parties would be benefited by such a reconciliation. The churches and, above all, the ministers and officers, need to appreciate the fact that the labor movement is a cause, not merely an economic uprising." (31)

And, if what Rauschenbusch says be true, then the church must hold this same attitude towards Socialism. He says: "Socialism is the ultimate and logical outcome of the labor movement. When the entire working class throughout the industrial nations is viewed in a large way, the progress of Socialism gives an impression of resistless and elemental power. It needs the high elation and faith that come through religion. Nothing else will call forth self-sacrificing devotion and life-long fidelity

which will be needed in so gigantic a struggle as lies before the working class." (32)

The Socialists will meet the church more than half way in this matter of a better understanding. They have shown their faith in the clergy by electing ministers to the office of mayor in Berkeley, Cal., Butte, Mont., and Schenectady, N. Y. Very often ministers are among the nominees of the Socialist party. In the recent municipal contest in Los Angeles, there were two ministers among the Socialist candidates, also the campaign manager and two of the prominent imported campaign speakers. In that campaign every effort was made to show their kindly feeling towards the religion of Jesus Christ. Rev. Robert Whitaker wrote in a local Socialist paper: "Socialism is a simple yet comprehensive scheme for the improvement of the conditions and character of men. In terms of economics, Socialism is common ownership of natural resources and public utilities, and the common operation of all industries for the general good. In terms of politics, Socialism is industrial democracy. In terms of religion, Socialism is righteousness in the relations of men. It is based on the fundamentals of religion, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men." (33)

In an article entitled "Socialism Is True Christianity," it was declared: "Socialism is the very essence and substance of religion. It is the very basis and bulwark of real brotherhood and of exact justice. Jesus, the Christ, was one of the first great Socialists. Socialists believe that a real Christian is one who believes Jesus' teachings, one who lives up to them and who helps to make them effective by voting for them. Frances Willard knew that the Socialists were trying to convert the dollar-worshipping churches to Christianity when she said: 'Socialism is simply applied Christianity—the Golden Rule applied to every-day life. Socialism is the very marrow and essence of Christ's gospel.'" (34)

In every campaign paper, and in almost every piece of the millions of pages of campaign literature, similar statements were made. Where did the churches stand during this, the warmest political campaign Los Angeles ever saw? They were largely on the other side. Especially is this true of some of the most prominent pastors of the city. Some of them took every opportunity, even taking the time of their Sunday sermons, to further the movement against Socialism.

Labor Will Meet the Church

The Pacific coast representative of the Christian Socialist Fellowship visited the largest ministerial association of the city, of which the writer is secretary. This old gentleman, who was himself a minister, was not allowed a hearing, and was shown scant courtesy. It was largely due to a misunderstanding, however, and was not, I think, an intentional discourtesy. That same week, on their own invitation, I was to address the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, which was backing the Socialist campaign. I was to speak on the question of the relation of Church and Labor in the city. I was most courteously received by that body of representative labor union men, both collectively and individually. In spite of the fact that they were in the midst of a warm campaign, and in spite of the fact that most of the prominent ministers of the city were opposing them, only five out of sixty-two expressed themselves on a card vote as being hostile to the church, and every one who voted desired better fraternal relations with the church.

Labor will meet the church more than half way in a movement for better understanding of the things that divide and cause misunderstanding. The labor movement is essentially ethical, and at heart religious. While the economic progress of Socialism is being largely ac-

cepted by labor unions, very few of them accept its atheistic or materialistic implications. They are ready as never before to acknowledge Jesus Christ, not only as the "First Great Socialist," but as their personal Savior,—if he is presented to them as such by a church in sympathy with them, and fully consecrated to the real service of Jesus Christ. A few days ago I was in a shop meeting in Los Angeles, and over twenty such meetings are held every week in various industrial centers. A hundred men spent half of their noon hour to listen to the gospel, and take part in a Christian service. Laboring men feel that Jesus Christ was one of them, and that they ought to be true to Him. The church is coming to feel the same thing. This great need of Christ is serving to bring the church and labor together. In the words of Bishop McIntire, once a bricklayer: "A brighter day of true social fellowship is coming, however, and the sky is red with the dawn of a hopeful tomorrow, when a man shall be a man for a' that." E. Guy Talbott.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The above article by Rev. E. Guy Talbott strikingly illustrates two facts:

1. That many Socialists have uttered silly, untenable arguments against religion and the church.

2. That multitudes of religious people, including many ministers, have accepted Socialism in spite of the foolish talk of prominent Socialists.

It is easy for a real student and thinker to understand why multitudes of Socialists and social reformers have mistakenly decided against religion, and why multitudes of ministers and laymen of the church have wisely and courageously decided against capitalism and in favor of Socialism in spite of the mistakes of anti-religious Socialists. This issue of the *Christian Socialist* contains striking examples of such Socialist preachers, and their number is increasing all the time.

There has been much misunderstanding about the religious neutrality plank of the Socialist platform. It was introduced without the effort or knowledge of the Christian Socialist members of the Convention (of 1908). Victor L. Berger, an avowed agnostic, declared that he was chiefly responsible for it. (See Official Report of the Convention, page 203.)

When it was presented by the Platform Committee, a few of the leading Christian Socialist delegates got together and decided that they would keep out of the debate and ask other Christian Socialist delegates to keep quiet, also, in order that the more materialistic comrades might decide for themselves whether they would limit the Socialist movement to atheists and their anti-religious sympathizers! Of course, they had too much political intelligence to imagine that any party that is really anti-religious could carry America. Besides, most of the materialistic Socialists are so broad-minded and so anxious to witness the triumph of real Socialism that they eagerly welcome religious people into the Socialist movement without wishing to question their religious views.

The agreement of certain Christian Socialists above mentioned to keep out of the debate explains why more voices were not raised in defense of religion in that memorable discussion. The question was not a matter of religious principle, but of party tactics, and we had ample reason for desiring the very ones who engaged in the debate to declare themselves.

It was further agreed by the group of Christian Socialists referred to that if the debate seemed going against the neutrality plank they would enter the arena; but that emergency did not arise. Of course, each one of these Christian comrades was burning to speak, but they restrained themselves—except a few who had not received the top as to the course agreed upon by the others.

Meaning of the Vote

A more serious misunderstanding arose as to the vote itself. The report shows that Hillquit's motion carried by a majority of one, which led many to infer that a bare majority favored a neutral position on religion. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The division marked by the vote was not between those

26. Social Duties From the Christian Point of View, p. 269.
27. The Workingman and Social Problems, p. 89.
28. The Message of Socialism to the Church, Berkeley, Cal., pp. 8, 9.
29. The Church and Modern Life, pp. 146, 147.
30. The Social Basis of Religion, pp. 211, 212.
31. The Social Gospel, pp. 111 and 113.
32. Op. Cit., pp. 406, 409.
33. Calif. Social Democrat, Dec. 2, 1911.
34. The Coming Victory (Campaign Paper).

who preferred silence on the subject of religion or an anti-religion plank and those who preferred a statement of neutrality, but between those who preferred Hillquit's amendment on the one side and on the other all those who preferred the platform Committee's neutrality plank and those who preferred silence.

The plank introduced by the Platform Committee was as follows (page 165 of the O. R., plank 6):

"That religion be treated as a private matter, a question of individual conscience."

Many were in favor of this statement, particularly because it is substantially the same as has been adopted by several national Socialist congresses, including that of Germany.

Hillquit proposed as a substitute the following (p. 193):

"The Socialist movement is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with the institution of marriage or religion." Later the words "the institutions of marriage and religion" were exchanged for "matters of religious belief." So that the Hillquit resolution as finally adopted by a vote of 79 to 78 reads:

"The Socialist movement is primarily an economic and political movement and is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

The editor of the *Christian Socialist*, who was a delegate, voted for the Hillquit substitute as a more catholic statement of the case because the Kautsky declaration introduced by the Platform Committee so bristles with Protestant dogma as against the Roman Catholic view of religion; and he thought that while the Socialist Party was trying to take a really neutral position on the subject of religion it should avoid the battle ground between the two great factions of the Christian Church. To Roman Catholic minds religion is not quite "a private matter—a question of individual conscience!"

Judging from the debate, the cheering and the sentiment of general satisfaction afterwards expressed, if the issue had been strictly between those who favored party neutrality in religion and those who preferred silence, the former would have appeared three to one.

Many ministers and editors, both Protestant and Catholic, have made much of the "mere majority of one," not having understood that the contest was between two different expressions of neutrality and not on the main question of religious neutrality. The *Christian Socialist*, however, made the matter clear to multitudes at the time.

Hillquit's Mistake

We also, in current issues of this paper, called attention to the supreme folly and inaccuracy of Hillquit's statement, referred to by Rev. Talbott above, that "ninety-nine per cent of us have come to the same spot" (the agnosticism of A. M. Lewis). Hillquit soon afterwards wrote a denial of this statement which was printed in the *Christian Socialist*. There is no doubt that he uttered the words, though he doubtless did not mean them literally and did not fully realize what he said. The writer thought he was merely trying a little friendly sarcasm on Comrade Lewis, as the context might infer (p. 193). But this unfortunate misstatement has been quoted by every active enemy of Socialism in the country on platform, pulpit and in press—and correctly quoted from the Official Records of the Socialist Party!

The inaccuracy of this statement, however, is monumental. At that very Convention there were twelve preacher delegates known to the writer, besides scores of delegates who were laymen in the church, out of a total of about two hundred present. No one took Hillquit's statement seriously at the time, much less himself, else it would have been corrected then.

The Truth About It

John M. Work, now National Secretary of the Socialist Party, expressed the real views and feelings of very many of the delegates, and of the Socialist Party of America in general, when he said at that Convention in connection with this matter in explanation of his vote against the Hillquit resolution (p. 206):

"I was in favor of the spirit of the substitute, but I voted against it because I wanted an

opportunity to vote in favor of the original report of the Committee. [Favoring neutrality.] Doubtless others were in the same position. That probably accounts for the closeness of the vote on the substitute. As my name was brought into the discussion by Comrade Lewis, and I tried in vain to get the floor, I wish to say that while I certainly do grant every comrade freedom of speech on this subject, both inside and outside of the movement. I, nevertheless, very seriously question the wisdom of those anti-religious comrades who insist upon dragging their irreligion into their Socialist speeches and writings. They have done the cause of Socialism an immense amount of harm.

"And I utterly repudiate the assertion that in adopting that plank we adopted 'a lie.' On the contrary, we adopted the literal and unqualified truth. Socialism is not concerned with matters of religious belief. If Socialism causes any changes in religious opinions, it will be merely because of the fact that Socialism will elevate the human race to a higher plane of existence where it can discover and grasp new truths. And, in that day, the opinions now held by agnostics, atheists and materialist monists are just as likely to be overturned as are those of any religion. The idea that Socialist principles lead to agnosticism, atheism or materialist monism, is false."

Now, why do not our ministerial, priestly, editorial and oratorical "friends, the enemy," quote these words of Comrade Work, which were loudly and generally cheered, and the equally sound language of Comrade Maynard (p. 192) and others, instead of harping continually on what Lewis and Hillquit said?

The Christian Socialist Vindicated

The words quoted by Brother Talbott from the *Christian Socialist* of April 1, 1909, have been fully vindicated by the expulsion from office of National Secretary Barnes because gross immorality was proved against him. Our statement that no Socialist editor had ventured to rebuke the idea of Bebel concerning sexual promiscuity, however, should have been qualified. Daniel DeLeon, translator of Bebel's book and editor of a Socialist Labor Party paper, but not of a Socialist Party paper, bravely, wisely and convincingly attacks Bebel's conclusions in his preface to Bebel's book.

Signs of the Truth

The election of preachers as Socialist mayors of Berkeley, Butte and Schenectady, and the prominence of ministers and other religious people in the Socialist movement the nation over, shows that the movement in America, where it really moves, is not opposed to religion. There will be many preacher and lay-church delegates also in the Socialist Party National Convention of 1912. The atavism and anachronism of the comrades in a few unfortunate cities where they persecute preachers and those who stand for morality can not greatly retard or deeply disgrace the whole movement for long, though it does unfavorably affect the vote in their locality.

THE RIGHT ANSWER

Another Preacher Declares Himself

The following is a copy of a circular sent out by "The Common Cause," New York City, to Rev. H. H. Mitchell, rector of the Episcopal church, at Jacksonville, Ill.:

"Rev. and Dear Sir:

"We desire to ask you, frankly, three questions:

"1. Are you opposed to Socialism?

"2. If so, are you willing to aid a practical movement to defeat it?

"3. Are you interested in Social Reform?

"Socialism is growing rapidly in all parts of America. In every section it is sowing the seeds of revolution, class hatred and atheism, and too little is being done to check its influence.

"The SOCIAL REFORM PRESS has been organized to combat this system through a national educational movement showing the dangerous attitude of Socialism towards the industrial, political and moral well-being of society and the nation.

"The SOCIAL REFORM PRESS will advocate and labor to secure social reforms that are right and just and in the interest of all our people.

"The COMMON CAUSE will turn on the light. We need your co-operation in this work and earnestly ask the influence of your moral support.

"Yours respectfully,

"The Social Reform Press."

The following answer was sent on a postal to the above circular:

"In answer to your three questions:

"1. I am NOT opposed to Socialism, but have been for many years a member of the Guild of St. Matthew (Christian Socialistic).

"2. A little opposition will be a great help.

"3. I would not be a Socialist if I were not.

"Your statements as to class hatred and atheism are rubbish. When Socialism 'happens'—and it is not far off—there will be no classes.

"Some Socialists may be atheists, just as some 'Common Cause Capitalists' may be, but to say Socialism sows the seeds of atheism is nonsense, for true Christianity is true Socialism.

"H. H. Mitchell, Trinity Rectory, Jacksonville, Ill., March 12, 1912."

TAKE HEED, O MY MASTERS!

By A. M. Kinney

An Undercurrent of the Lawrence Strike

To you, O masters of the mills, we say, take heed!

Don't drive too fast, your heavy "juggernaut" of greed!

For though our necks are chafed and galled beneath your yoke,

Sometimes what seems to be submission, is the cloak

To hide the stern resolves of men in bitter need.

We've only asked you for a little larger share Of that prosperity our hands have made; take care!

Don't crowd too hard! For after all, we're only men;

And even wolves will turn when goaded to their den

And show a fighting courage born of dark despair.

We toil long hours for you, in dark ill-smelling rooms;

Our wives are chained beside your grimy, dusty looms;

Our children too, are driven, weeping to your mills

When they should be in school, or playing on the hills,

Breathing God's pure air amidst sweet-scented blooms.

You say that we are just a mob of foreign scum;

But when we ask you why we came here, you are dumb;

You know that you enticed us from our humble cots

And made us victims of your avaricious plots

To give the screw another turn on Labor's thumb.

Your boasted wealth is but the product of our toil;

And as we feel the ever shrinking, tightening coil

Of poverty, we lose respect for laws your kind have passed;

And who can tell how long your brutal laws will last,

When we at last decide to claim your blood-stained spoil.

You live at ease, upon the profits which you grind

From worker's lives; and Mammon's worship makes you blind

To the REVOLT which slowly gathers strength and force

As it advances steadily upon its course

For the redemption of oppressed, toil-cursed mankind.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

Issued Weekly

PUBLISHED BY

The Co-Operative Printing Company
Address 5443 Drexel Avenue, Chicago
Telephone Midway 2349

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, as
Second-Class Matter.

Subscription Price - - - One Dollar Per Year
Six months 50c. Three months 25c.

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TILL 1913

All new 50c subscriptions received from now until June 1st will run till Jan. 1st, 1913. This is your chance to get new subs. The sooner you get them the longer they will run. This offer is not good for renewals, because it is less than the cost of the regular edition. It is for new subscribers only. See our Bargain Offers in last issue, page 8. Quick action now brings the greatest results for the campaign of 1912. That's the object, therefore, please hustle for a club of new subs at once. See renewal offers also.

Roosevelt forced the pure food bill through Congress with the power of "the big stick." Now Dr. Wiley, chief government chemist, resigns because the Taft administration will not permit him to save the people from being poisoned—for that would displease certain manufacturers who are murderously violating the law. Taft consents to have the people poisoned rather than offend the worst criminals on earth, the poisoners of foodstuffs. He needs their "influence." Let the people die, so long as he can get capitalist support for re-election.

And now may "the big stick" eliminate him utterly from politics?

The Central Christian Advocate (Methodist) of Kansas City has been delivering clear and wise editorial advice concerning the study of Socialism. If the editor be not a Socialist, he surely "leans that way."

The Northwest Forum, published at North Yakima, Wash., reports an excellent address in favor of Socialism by Rev. O. K. Hicks under the auspices of the Socialist local, in which Rev. Hicks took the ground that Socialism is necessary before the ethics of Christianity can be generally applied.

DR. CAMPBELL SICK

Rev. R. J. Campbell, D. D., famous Socialist pastor of the celebrated City Temple, London, who recently visited America, is suffering from overwork. A grave breakdown of health has made it necessary for him to abandon his pulpit for the present and even threatens his life. Multitudes of friends on both sides of the sea will be hoping for his speedy recovery.

WILL IT BE SO THIS YEAR?

An Irishman who heard it said that if March came in like a lion it would "go out like a lamb" replied: "Ach, not every March does that. Oi remember one March a few years back phat came in loike a lion 'nd went out loike th' divil!"

German Socialism and Militarism

By Rev. Paul Burgess, Marburg, a. L.

Socialism has always been a bitter foe of the god of war. It holds that the peoples of the earth want peace. It declares that modern war is a criminal murdering of helpless men who are led as sheep to the slaughter to carry out the plans of a few capitalists or aristocrats. The words of Jaures at the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1900 express the attitude of the party throughout the world. "Capitalism, in order to attain its own ends, is in all countries appealing to the narrowest, most debasing and most brutal instincts. It is trying to awaken the old race-prejudices and to inflame one nation against another in order to insure its own supremacy. Therefore of all the important questions before us, the most important is the organization of international peace and brotherhood."

Now look at the situation in Germany. As is generally known, every able-bodied German must serve from one to three years actively as a soldier. For seven years he is a member of the standing army and ready to march to the front at a moment's notice. The fact that he is a Socialist and does not believe in war makes no difference. He must spend three years of his life learning how to kill his brother man in the most approved fashion. This system of compulsory service gives Germany the largest and by far the strongest army of the world—and her fleet is second only to that of England. The soldiers are scattered throughout the land. Every town of any importance has its garrison. The emperor spends a large part of his time traveling from place to place and reviewing the regiments. All this military display works powerfully upon the people. For who is not stirred as the band goes down the street playing a martial air and the fine young blood of the land marches behind, spick and span, as one man, colors flying, helmets gleaming in the sun, etc., etc.

The children are taught of the glories of battle and victory in school. (The horrors of war are lightly passed over.) In my hearing a Professor of Theology dwelt at length upon the glories of war and elicited thundering applause from his class of soon-to-be preachers, while a professor who dared lift his voice for international peace and against German Militarism was hissed by his students and has been, I am told, deprived of some of his privileges as professor by the government.

What then shall the Socialist Party do before this tremendous national pride, gathering around army and navy, which shouts "Germany against the world"? (Deutschland, uber alles.)

It stands out fair and square before it for peace. Of course it is called "traitorous" for its stand; but it remains firm.

Last summer when war seemed imminent with France, and the Bourgeoisie of Germany were crying for war, the Socialists calmly held great protest meetings expressing their desire for peace. Non-socialists declared that such procedure at such a time was a direct betrayal of Germany before the whole world, but no one doubts that these great meetings had a quieting effect and did much to avert the war.

During the last two or three months when diplomatic relations with England have been a little strained and the war scare has again loomed large, German and English Socialists exchange assurances of friendship and brotherhood.

The rumor even went around when matters were most critical with France last summer that the Socialists of Germany would refuse to march in case of war. Certain it is that they are outspoken enemies of war where it is threatened over a colonial policy in which no real principle is at stake and where the peace as a whole would only suffer from it.

But a state of affairs exists here in Europe

which is hard for us in America to understand. The European states are very close together and traditionally, deadly enemies. The German lives in continual dread of waking up some fine morning to find the French or the English or the Russians marching against the capitol. They think that entire national disarmament at this time would be national suicide. The following quotation from a speech of Bebel (the leader of the German Socialists) in the Reichstag, December 10, 1904, expresses the Socialist attitude to this danger of foreign subjugation:

"Against danger from without we believe that it is absolutely necessary that every able-bodied man have the possibility of standing for the freedom and independence of his country. You were incredulous last spring when I declared that in spite of my age (Bebel was then 64), I would still shoulder my musket to fight for the independence of the land. People derided and ridiculed the statement. But I was in dead earnest. My friends and I will not surrender a foot of German ground to a foreign might. For we know right well that the instant Germany is crushed, her whole national life will be destroyed so long as the foreign supremacy lasts and the whole energy of the people will be devoted to casting it off. Such a course of events would be regretted by no one more than by us Socialists, and we will do our utmost to prevent it."

This may strike some of the comrades as too much of a concession to national feeling. Perhaps it is. But the hearts of the German comrades are certainly in the right place. They with the Socialists the world over are working as no other force for the day when "they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their shears into pruning hooks. When nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The Short Story

MISS ANGELINA'S CONVERSION

By Benjamin Knoch

Miss Angelina Shrewberry was reading a standard work on economics, and wondering if it told the truth, when the little lad who lived next door entered the room and presented her with a big bunch of heartsease. Miss Angelina was not anything that her last name may suggest, but took more after her first name. However, there had been a time when she was about concluding that there wasn't much sweetness in life, after all, when this delightful little neighbor, whose father was trying to make her see things the way he saw them, began paying attention to her!

"I'll be your little boy," he had piped, in his sweet, baby voice, when in a highly sentimental moment, Miss Angelina had confided that she wished she had a little boy like him too. Of course, it wasn't in human nature for a lonely lady like Angelina to refuse such an offer as that. She accepted it, her first proposal, with alacrity, and would bridle with pride to think she had captured the nicest little beau in the world—the only one who had proven perfectly true, so far.

Today, Miss Angelina took the pansies and the little heartsease back of them, in her arms, and sat rocking with him, her cheek pressed against the little brown head. He was so lovely, he made her think of flowers. His eyes were brown, large and velvety, fringed with black lashes, his cheeks were brown, too, except that they also made you think of pink satin rose petals. Miss Angelina kissed the cheek nearest her three times in succession, then fell to wondering why people were so cruel when there were such beautiful things

as little children on earth. Maybe it was because they didn't have any. But no, that didn't answer it, entirely.

"If you love me, work for me," said her little boy, whose name was Harry, slipping an arm 'round her neck and looking straight into her tender eyes with his own beautiful ones.

"I'll work for you with pleasure, you little 'sun-beam'!" she cried, holding him all the tighter. "I'm sure I can't do enough for my little fellow."

Just then his mother presented her face at the window-screen and enquired if it wasn't an awful shame the way they ground little children into dollars in the mills, mines and so on.

Harry was a queer, little, quiet, little boy. He did not seem inclined to be brutal, and liked animals and grown folks rather better than certain tyrannical small boys. He had never been blessed with brothers or sisters, but loved his father and mother, and one or two others whom he could trust, with all his heart. He said and did "queer" things and had "funny" ways. He liked to lie on the lawn, in the shade of the old apple tree, and listen to the tunes the insects hummed, up in the air, and admire the wonderful pictures in the clouds, just as many grown-up boys of forty or fifty have been known to do.

"He's a dreamer!" Miss Angelina diagnosed, unwillingly. "Poor little boy! He's either going to be an artist or a musician or a poet, but I can't tell which, yet, I shall know the symptoms, though, for I had 'em all once, myself, and came very near being a poetess at the mature age of fourteen!"

"What headed you off?" laughed Mr. Austin.

"Misfortune and poverty and toil and disappointment," sniffed Miss Angelina, and looked the most like her last name that he had ever known her to look.

However, it was not poetry that ailed her little boy, but music. He cried as if he was going to cry his little heart out, the first time he heard a graphophone. It did sound sweet and sad and pretty, and made you wish that all was right with the world.

Miss Angelina wept in concert with her child, for she understood the workings of the artistic temperament. Her own dreams hadn't come true, either.

"If I could have my way, I'd take all the little boys and all the little girls under my wing, and fly away with them to the moon where they'd always be safe," said Miss Angelina.

"So would I," agreed Harry's mother, squinting at her sewing. "Let's try it. We all ought to fight for a better world wherein the young may develop their gifts as God intended. Wouldn't it be nice if all children could be as tenderly cared for as some hogs and cattle?"

"For goodness' sake!" exclaimed Miss Angelina.

Miss Shrewberry felt mad at fate to think it had made her give up her piano to help pay debts when the crash came. But a Shrewberry would not be dishonest, and now her little lad would shortly need a piano the worst way. And he couldn't have one, because his parents said "No." Why? Oh, they were poor, poor things.

"But he shall have a mandolin or something, on his very next birthday," Miss Angelina promised, thinking what beautiful little hands he had, and feeling proudly sure that they were to do good work in the world. She wanted him to grow up to be a minister, or something like that.

Harry's father, although a man of learning and intellect, had to work for a living in a little, rented store downtown, where he sold nothing more genteel than horse furnishings. Harry's mother kept house, very nicely, and assisted in keeping the wolf from the door by "performing on her sewing machine." But between the two they had not yet scraped enough together to pay for their little house and lot with its interesting chicken yard and berry patch, much less indulge in pianos for their only child.

"But may be it's just as well, if not better," decided Harry's father, thinking of the dis-

appointments of his own earlier years, when he had wanted to learn to draw pictures, but had luckily followed his father's advice to learn to draw checks, instead. "I must get Harry interested in my work, as soon as possible. Young people must learn to be practical these days, or go under. I feel sorry for the poor child of the immediate future." And he patted his son's head, as if to assure him that he was safe.

We have suggested that Harry's father held meetings. He did, evenings, downtown, on street corners. The next spring, the weather was admirable, and just before Easter, Miss Angelina, who through the Winter, had not been quite converted by Mr. Austin's books, went to hear what he had to say from his box. This was right after she made the highly interesting discovery that the very gentleman who cornered her father's wealth and helped spoil her life, was the same chap who had made Harry Austin's grandfather a poor man.

The villain's name was Jasper St. Leon; he had a profligate son living in that same city, existing in fine style on wealth he had never created. Miss Angelina began to see through things.

"My sweetheart and I are going to the speech, tonight," said Miss Angelina, primly, patting Harry's shoulder. So they went, one of Harry's hands held proudly by that of Angelina, the other carrying a roll of literature which he was going to sell to the audience. He had never helped this way before, but they had decided it was time for him to begin, and had taught him to make change that Winter. Although slight of frame, he was getting to be a big boy—nearly eight years old, now.

The crowd was unusually large that night. For every one was beginning to see through things. And the Spring, with its glorious promise, was in the air. And saddened hearts felt like making one more effort toward the Good, the Beautiful and the True. The audience was unwontedly interested, and did not wander much, although down the street a few blocks, a Salvation Army lassie was singing sweetly and plaintively, "What Shall the Harvest Be?" and there was a pleasant breeze blowing which made the men grab for their hats once in a while. Harry went among the crowd, selling his pamphlets with undreamed-of success.

"They run over us!" shouted Mr. Austin, with a fine flourish. "They rob us and run over us and crush us—and why? Because we let them. We have not all discovered that we have a mind, too,—and better still, a will and a vote!"

An hilarious gust of wind came waltzing and two-stepping 'round the corner just in time to lift several of the men's hats at that point. Harry's went sailing across the street, and he went after it. In coming back, three or four of his pamphlets blew from his hand, and before he had cornered the last one a big, black automobile, with horrible, glaring eyes, and driven by young Brutus St. Leon, rushed down upon him and hit him, almost before he knew the monster was upon him. It was typical of the way they run over us.

Miss Angelina, who had been proudly watching the child more than listening to the father's chidings, had the terrible satisfaction of being the first to pick her little comrade from the pavement and press the limp, little form against her broken heart. He died in her arms, and she never forgot the look he gave her, from his wonderful, agonized eyes.

The next day she sadly cut the lovely Easter lily in her window and came stepping primly across the lawn to see him again, and after she and his mother had cried in each other's arms and said it couldn't be true, she asked Mrs. Austin if she supposed she could get her some plain sewing to do, as she wanted some extra money to buy stamps to send literature to some people she used to know. She also took one of Mr. Austin's more serious books away with her to read after she got settled down a bit—if she ever did.

And now, almost any pleasant Sunday you may see a sorrowful, kind-faced lady who looks as if she didn't care for anything any more (although looks are deceiving) wending

her way to the peaceful, maple-shaded cemetery with a big bunch of heartsease, which she tenderly arranges on a small grave, assuring the little sleeper that she will always be true. The leaf-shadows dance a jig on the bright expanse of sunlight, the robins skip and hop across the grass and even crane their necks at Angelina, but she comes away about as sad as she went.

And in the privacy of her own rooms, she picks up the little books she taught him to read, and the trinkets he used to touch, and kisses them, and says: "I wish I could fly away with all the little boys and all the little girls, some place where they'd always be safe from the perils of the street and of mills and mines. Oh, if every little child could only have a good, safe home of its own!"

And at night she drops down on her knees beside her bed and prays, and while the tears stream over her fading cheeks, she pleads that something may happen soon to save God's little children, throughout the whole wide world.

METCALF AT TACOMA

Comrades,

Just a short report on two meetings held last week, one at North Yakima and one at Prosser. At North Yakima I was invited to see Rev. Bulgin who was holding revival meetings in the city. After a few minutes talk I found him to be with us and he offered to give me part of his time at his tabernacle that I might present Christian Socialism. I accepted and spoke to an audience of between 3,000 and 4,000 there was nothing more being talked than Socialism in North Yakima. One minister came to us and was relieved of his charge but is happy in the relief. Many came to me after the service with interesting questions to ask and to express themselves ready to study on the subject.

Thursday night I spoke in the Baptist church in Prosser to a small but very appreciative audience. They still seem to be afraid of contamination by attending our meetings, but this will pass away with a little knowledge.

Sunday night, the 3rd, the hall in Tacoma was packed to hear the subject of the White Slave Traffic presented. We are expecting to surprise everybody in the next election here.

Glad to see in yesterday's paper that the Methodists of this district, in their next meeting, will discuss "Socialism—Christian and Anti-Christian." Any kind of discussion is good if it is honest and will lead to but one end.

Yours for the Revolution

A. A. Metcalf.

THE McNAMARAS

The Pilot, the official organ of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Boston, publishes a column tirade against Socialism because of the crime of the McNamaras. The writer says the name McNamara is "an old honored Irish name" and "should have been a Catholic name."

It is a Catholic name. The McNamara brothers are Roman Catholics, vote the Democrat ticket and oppose Socialism strongly. The church press should quit lying about Socialism.

The selection of Yuan Shi Kai, the resourceful prime minister of the late Manchu dynasty, to be president of the Chinese Republic, was a gigantic blunder, if not a traitorous intrigue, judging from recent events. He not only seems incapable but unwilling to keep order, and it must be remembered that it is the Imperial troops that have been doing the looting, whereas the headless bodies that cumber the streets of Peking, victims of Yuan Shi Kai's pretense of punishing the looters, are the bodies of innocent, unarmed coolies—not of pillaging soldiers. The Chinese Republic is not established yet. And Sun Yat Sen need not hurry to disband his revolutionary army.

WOMEN VOTED RIGHT

The women of Seattle did a fine piece of work last week when they saved the city from the disgrace of re-electing a mayor who had been once recalled because he had run a "wide-open" town. This proof of women's ability to vote intelligently, together with that furnished in the recent Los Angeles election, may have had something to do with the action of the Ohio constitutional convention. It voted the other day, by more than two to one, to submit the question of woman suffrage to the voters of the state next fall. At least five states will pass upon the admission of women to the suffrage at the November elections: Ohio, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nevada and Oregon. New Hampshire is also likely to pass upon the question.—Ex.

Between the coal strike and the women's war for the ballot "old John Bull" is having a rough March to a wild Spring.

International Sunday School Lessons

By Rev. Wm. A. Frouser, Pastor Ames M. E. Church, 4645
Second Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

LESSON FOR MARCH 31

Review

GOLDEN TEXT: The people who sat in darkness saw a great light; and to them who sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up. Matt. 4:16.

This is a quarterly review. The purpose of a review is to acquire greater familiarity with and a logical mental grip of the events and principles already gone over. This means independent investigation and thinking.

The subjects for review are these:

1. The Birth of John the Baptist Foretold. Luke 1:5-23.
2. The Birth of John the Baptist. Luke 1:57-80.
3. The Birth of Jesus. Luke 12:1-20.
4. The Presentation in the Temple. Luke 2:22-39.
5. The Wise Men Led by the Star. Matt. 2:1-23.
6. The Boy Jesus in the Temple. Luke 2:40-52.
7. The Ministry of John the Baptist. Mark 1:1-8; Luke 3:1-20.
8. The Baptism and Temptation of Jesus. Mark 1:9-13; Matt. 4:1-11.
9. The Call of the First Disciples. Mark 1:14-28; Luke 5:1-11.
10. Jesus the Healer. Mark 1:29-45; Matt. 4:23-25.
11. The Paralytic Forgiven and Healed. Mark 2:1-12.
12. Feasting and Fasting. Mark 2:13-22.

Notice the events circle around two personages. The first is John the Baptist. We cover his life in three lessons. In reviewing it we should fix in our minds his parentage; the time, place and circumstance of his birth; his personal appearance, character and mission; his relation to Christ and society at large, and the time, place and manner of his death. Try to secure definite and sincere answers to these questions. Who was John the Baptist? Why was he called the Baptist? Where and how was he educated? How soon did he leave home and where did he go? What was his chosen work and why? What was the chief principles of his preaching? Why did he preach in the wilderness and follow the life of a hermit? Did all classes of people come to his services? What was the effect of his preaching on them and why? Did he preach an individual or social gospel or both? Was he loved or feared, and by whom and why? By whom and why was he arrested, incarcerated and killed? What was Christ's estimate of John and why?

The other personage is Jesus of Nazareth. We have partly covered his life to date. But since he and his mission is the theme of the Gospel we should endeavor to construct a chronological framework into which we may fit the incidents of his career. The following outline is suggested as a guide up to the point of this lesson.

Part 1. The Thirtieth Years of Private Life. This extends from the birth of Jesus to the coming of John the Baptist; from B. C. to the summer of 26 A. D.

Part 2. The opening events of Christ's ministry: from the coming of John the Baptist until the appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem. This covers nearly a year from the summer of 26 A. D. up to the Passover in April 27.

Part 3. The Early Judean Ministry, from the public appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem until his return to Galilee, a period of about eight months, from the Passover to December 27.

Part 4. The First Period of the Galilean ministry: From the return to Galilee to the choosing of the Twelve, a period of about six months, from December 27 to early summer 28.

This is the period of the life of Jesus we are now studying. This period marks the beginning of the hostility of the ruling classes against him. Henceforth we shall find him giving his attention more particularly to choosing twelve Apostles, organizing the kingdom and teaching the poor. The most important period of the life and teachings of Jesus are yet to come. But we have progressed far enough in his life to ask a few questions.

Who was Jesus? Was a Messiah generally expected? When, where and in what condition was Jesus born and why? Who were his parents and what was their social status? Who were the "wise men" and why did they come to pay homage to the child Jesus? Did Herod and the religious leaders know of the birth of Jesus? Why did Herod seek to kill the child Jesus? Did Jesus receive an academic education? How do you account for his transcendent wisdom? Did he show signs of early God-and-social consciousness? Why was he baptised of John? Why did he straightway bury himself in the wilderness and abstain from eating for six weeks? What was the personal and social significance of his long and severe temptation in the wilderness? Judging from the data before us what would you say was his personal character, standard of life and mission in society? With whom did he stand and whose cause did he espouse? Was Jesus an individualist or Socialist in principle and practice, and why? What is the ground for your belief? The data for answers to these questions lie deep in the narratives we have studied.

Carefully note that the mission of Jesus was threefold. He preached, taught and healed the people. His program corresponded to the threefold nature and needs of humanity. Is the program of Jesus a necessary and practical one? Did he commission his apostles and evangelists to carry it out? Did the early Christian church carry it out and how? Is it the duty of the modern Christian church to carry out the program of Christ? How can the modern church best abolish ignorance, crime, poverty, sickness, accident and premature death, by personal and associated Charities, Amelioration, or Social Revolution? Is the modern church doing her full duty? If not, why not? Can Christ's kingdom of God come and justice

be done on earth through Capitalism? If not, can you, as a Christian, vote to keep it in power? If Socialist principles are divine and universal and their ultimate triumph inevitable, where should you stand politically? If Jesus espoused the cause of the lowly, helped the poor and resisted every form of temptation to turn from the plain path of duty, though that path led him to the cross, what should you do?

These are religious, moral, social, educational, economic and political questions, and they demand an answer from every one of us. How will you answer them? Will you, like the early disciples, heed the voice of Jesus and leave all and follow him in the regeneration of human society, or will you, like the rich young ruler, turn aside and refuse because you are one of the privileged class and have a few temporal things to lose? Will you, like a blood-sucking parasite, use society for your personal profit and be despised, or, like the grain of wheat, fall into the ground of society, lose your personal interests in the common interests, and find yourself, in the end, a hundred-fold enlarged? Christ presses you today, as he did Peter, James and John yesterday, for an answer.

FOR YOUNG CRUSADERS

Conducted by M. Kathryn
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EASY TO CRITICISE

It is easy to sit in the sunshine
And talk to the man in the shade;
It is easy to float in a well-trimmed boat
And point out the places to wade.
But once we pass into the shadows,
We murmur and fret and frown,
And our length from the bank, we shout
For a plank,
Or throw up our hands and go down.

It is easy to sit in our carriage
and counsel the man on foot;
But get down and walk, and you'll
change your talk.
As you feel the peg in your boot.
It is easy to tell the toiler
How best he can carry his pack;
But not one can rate a burden's weight
Until it has been on his back.
The up-curved mouth of pleasure
Can preach of sorrow's worth;
But give it a sip, and a wryer lip
Was never made on earth.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

A FABLE FROM JAPAN

A man who had just reached heaven began to look about him, and before long he discovered a large pile of what looked like human ears. He turned in amazement to the celestial being who stood beside him:

"What are these?" he asked.

"Those are the ears of the people who, when they were on earth, heard what they ought to do to be good, but did not get any further towards doing it. So when they died the only part of them that came to heaven was their ears."

The man went on a little distance, thinking of what his companion had said, but before long he noticed a second heap of strange-looking things, and again he asked what they were.

"They are tongues," was the reply, "and they once belonged to the people who were always telling others what they ought to do to be good, but who never followed their own counsel. So when they died only their tongues came to heaven."

Do you suppose any of us could miss the "moral" of that little Japanese fable. Young Crusaders? It is calculated to make Aunt Kathryn sit up and look a little closer to see if it applies to her! How about you? I'm right anxious that we

Socialists "qualify" for a world, or a society, which runs on the track laid down by the Golden Rule; and I know we never can do it as long as we go along serenely dreaming of great things to come, and neglecting the opportunities of which every day is full, to practice co-operation in Golden Rule observance with every one we have any dealings with—from our own dear mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, our playmates, school-mates and friends, to the people we don't like, or see only now and then. Young Crusaders may well bend all their energies to co-operation with the first group—relatives and friends, but it won't hurt them to remember that the time will come when they will more and more have relations with those not at all bound to them by ties of kinship or friendship—when they may really have occasion to obey the command which is binding on every Christian, to do good to them that hate them, or at least are indifferent to them.

To return evil for evil! How easy and how natural that is! So far have we traveled from the path of mutual love that scarcely a child, who has brothers and sisters, fails to break the Golden Rule all to splinters every day—and rarely blames anybody but "the other fellow." Or, yes! I know the "system" is to blame for much of it. It's in the very air we breathe—everybody does it, and how is a fellow going to be "good" when everybody is always picking at him? Big brother bullies over little bud, and big sister don't want that little "bother" around spoiling her fun. The love is there, down at the bottom of a great deal of selfishness, but only when some danger, sickness or misfortune comes along does it show itself. What a blessing it is that God does permit misfortune to come sometimes—else we would never know how we really loved one another!

When we look closely at all the facts it does look like an impossible dream to think that people who are nearly all up to their eyes in care and sorrow, hard worked to live, with minds dulled by neglect and hearts hardened by bad examples on all sides, can even help to bring the kingdom of heaven a little nearer to earth; especially when we consider the thousands of years which have gone by through which the many "wise and good" have labored for this to no purpose, or worse than no purpose! But, you see, they didn't CO-OPERATE! They may have co-operated with God, individually, to the best of their knowledge, and won an individual salvation of "a sort," but they were too busy "sizing up" their individual differences of opinion to think of getting down to essentials and joining hands all around the world. That is the great idea of the Socialists. To make use, collectively, of all our collective knowledge, and good impulses and feelings, to overcome our collective ignorance and bad ones. And it is going to succeed. It will succeed, outwardly, even if we "Christian" Socialists fail to qualify as we should to take our part in it, but we can hasten its real success if we will consider our individual fitness as Christians at the same time that we are joining hands with all the rest of imperfect humanity who have somehow got hold of the great "idea!" We have